THE EXAMINER.

No. 128.. SUNDAY, JUNE 10, 1810.

THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few. SWIFT.

No. 126.

PROPOSED MONUMENT TO LOCKE.

More than twelve months, I believe, have now elapsed since a Subscription was commenced for the erection of a Monument to the illustrious LOCKE. For this purpose it was calculated that about a thousand pounds would suffice, and contributions have been invited by promises of engravings and medals representing the Monument. It appears however from the Advertisements in the Daily Papers that so far from being yet complete, the Subscription is little more than half full. We raise contributions for persecuted club-spouters, and for women of doubtful character, but we can afford nothing in honour of the sage who shed such a noble radiance on the human intellect and on the fame and freedom of the English character. What is it that hinders us from doing justice to such a man? He has been dead long enough to surmount the effects of ignorance, of envy, and of bigotry; he has raised our reputation in a manner at once the most innocent, most useful, and most sublime; he taught us to think for ourselves, and in so thinking to act for all mankind; it was he and the great NEWTON, who put to flight the dreams of former ages and opened the eyes of man to the true consciousness of his powers: even our rival neighbours could not but worship the radiant hands that dispersed their own philosophy; and shall we refuse honours to one of them? NEWTON, who taught us to look upwards and contemplate the glory of nature, has his monument as he ought to have; his fame was too immediate in the eyes of his countrymen to be overlooked. LOCKE, who taught us to look inwards and contemplate ourselves, did us more good though with less grandeur of effect, and has no monument but in the glory he bequeathed us. It is not necessary perhaps to his reputation that he should have any other;—but it is very necessary to ours.

That the present Administration should take up so laudable a matter, is not to be expected:—men who have no regard for their own proper fame, who waste the powers of the country in the most frivolous manner, who do every thing to cripple the freedom of thinking, and in fine, who think to no purpose but a bad one, can care little about the memory of LOCKE: besides, they will tell you that they cannot afford a few hundreds for the sake of dead merit, when they have so much to do for the reward of living; that is to say, pensions to bestow on their creatures, thousands to throw over the rocks and precipices of Spain, 30,000*l.* a-year to furnish to the Marquis of BUCKINGHAM for writing his name, and the use of 40,000*l.* a-year to entrust to my Lord ARDEN for the same laborious piece of virtue. It signifies nothing that one twentieth part of a sinecure would do honour at once to LOCKE and to the nation: every body knows that it is not at all necessary to care for LOCKE or the nation, whereas it is absolutely indispensable that a statesman should be enabled to have forty hams stewed down to make him a little sauce.—But if the People of England regard these things in the proper light, they will rather thank the Government for surrendering up to them exclusively the attainment of so easy and true an honour. It used to be the praise of Englishmen, that on all such occasions they could act nobly for themselves, pay their own unassisted tribute to excellence, and prove to surrounding nations that their Philosophers had indeed done them good and rendered them grateful.—It is true, our character for thinking is not so famous as it used to be: our passions have for years past been too much called into play; and in yielding ourselves to political quacks, who have been weakening us while they professed to cure, our temper and good sense have been injured together, and even a returning consciousness of error will torment us long before it will re-invigorate. But we have many and great blessings still, and for these we must still be grateful. "Aye," cries the Pittite, "to the great Minister who saved you out of the wreck of nations:"—"Aye," cry the busy getters of wealth, "to us who enable your government to carry on the war:"—"Aye," cry Mr. PERCEVAL and his colleagues, "to us who oppose BONAPARTE wherever he moves and keep you afloat till '*something turn up.*'" * "No," says the man of common thinking, with a sigh and a bitter smile, "not to any one of these,—neither to the great Minister who did us the favour not to destroy us—nor to the getters of wealth, who enable the Government to impoverish us—nor to Mr. PERCEVAL and his colleagues, who fight because 'something may turn up'—but to the wise and exemplary teachers who came before them—to the philosophic and foresighted men who saw that England's greatness was to be preserved only by the maintenance of sound thinking and of a jealous liberty—to the sages, who by the union of all that is great in precept and in practice left us their wisdom to instruct and their virtue to inspire—to ALFRED, to HAMPDEN, to SIDNEY, to HOLT, to SOMERS, to ADDISON, to CHATHAM, to *Locke*. They who teach us to think best, teach us to act best: and they who teach us to think and act best, teach us to live longest and freest.

It is to LOCKE—I do not say to LOCKE only, but it is

* Mr. PERCEVAL's words and argument too, when he got nearly a million of money from Parliament, the other day, to maintain "the struggle" in Portugal.

to that admirable man chiefly—that English thinking has owed its freedom from jargon, from ostentation, from superficiality. The father, though not the perfecter, of definition, and the great recommender of a system of reflection at once *conscientious*, modest, and profound, there is no profession, no mode or object of learning, no mental accomplishment or personal virtue, to which he has not been of incalculable service. We are naturally too apt to refer our blessings as well as misfortunes to things or men before us; but philosophy, of all other social greatnes, is that which leaves the best and most lasting influence behind it, and is acting for us long after the philosopher is dead. It is his good spirit left upon earth to counteract the baneful glories of the ambitious and the warlike, and to whisper to the mind even amidst the shouts of multitudes and the blasts of the trumpet, that there is *something* infinitely nobler than all this.

Thus there is not a day passing over our heads, in which we do not reap some solid advantage from the influence, however unacknowledged at the moment, of such men as Locke. We say to ourselves, when thinking—"This thing we see clearly," and we thank our education, or the improved state of society, for being able to see so clearly;—it was Locke who so much assisted that education and that improvement. We say to ourselves, when thinking, "Thank God! nobody can deprive us of our freedom of opinion, or even dictate to us inquisitorially:"—it was Locke who asserted for us that freedom of opinion, that liberty of speech and conscience. We say to ourselves, when thinking, "France, by the help of weak opposers, has risen to a great pitch of worldly glory; but after all, the spirit of her society has not a particle of that independence which is still preserved in England;"—it was Locke, who in teaching us to distinguish false ideas from true, taught us to distinguish false glory from true—it was Locke, and such men as himself, who, in teaching us to give up our mental liberty to no man, taught us to give up our personal liberty to no man; but to prefer even the consciousness of independence to a slavery however worshipful.—To such a man as Locke, therefore, every Englishman owes love and reverence, and not even Nelson himself, though he died on the waves bequeathing triumph to his countrymen, deserves a more glorious acknowledgment of their gratitude, than he who, dying in solitude and in silence, with no glories about him but the anticipation of heaven and the quiet sublimity of departing virtue, bequeathed to his countrymen the love of what is rational.

I know nothing of the persons who have set on foot this laudable subscription; but there is no reason to doubt their motives, and there is every reason to admire and recommend their undertaking. What I have said on this subject is owing from me as a public writer, and as one to whom, in the midst of political bustle and political follies, the very thought of Locke is as refreshing as it is useful. Much more might be said on such a subject, and infinitely better: but those who think and feel as Englishmen should, it will be sufficient to have *reminded* of their illustrious countryman, and to those who do not, declamation would be equally as useless on my part as it would be unworthy of the subject. Let us be wrought up to enthusiasm—let our faculties be artificially roused by "pomp and circumstance," when we would admire the slaughterers and enslavers of mankind;—it is upon the strength of our reason only—upon the calm strength of reason and gratitude—that we should pay unadulterated homage to their preservers and deliverers.

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FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

SWEDEN.

Helsinburg, May 29.—We have just received the afflicting intelligence of the sudden death of the Crown Prince, which took place this morning at Bonach Heath, a few miles hence. His Royal Highness was reviewing some Hussar regiments, he was considerably in advance of the line, when he was seized with an apoplexy, and fell from his horse and expired immediately. This melancholy event was the more unexpected, as his Royal Highness left this place yesterday, apparently in perfect health.

PROVINCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Berkshire Meeting.—On Tuesday the Freeholders of the County of Berks assembled in great numbers at the Town Hall in Reading, to take into consideration the question between the House of Commons and the People.——Peter Green, Esq. High Sheriff, in the Chair.—After he had opened the business, Sir John Throckmorton addressed the Freeholders in a very animated speech. Alluding to the charge against the Reformers, that they wished to bring the House of Commons into contempt, Sir John observed, "If the House of Commons did their duty—if they proved themselves the vigilant guardians of the public purse—the unwearied prosecutors of all public abuses—the relentless foes of all public peculators, be their rank or connections what they might—if they shewed themselves at all times eager to detect and punish every attempt to barter their Representation—if they did all this, it would be a vain attempt to try to bring them into contempt, for it would be impossible to do so. But, as they now stood, could their warmest advocate say that they expressed the sense of the people? Did they express that sense when they refused to proceed against Lord Castlereagh, for attempting to barter a seat in their House for a writership? Did they express the sense of the people when, upon a subsequent charge of selling seats in that House, they vindicated themselves by the defence, that such a practise was "as notorious as the sun at noon-day?" Did they express the sense of the people when they acquitted the then Commander in Chief of all knowledge of, or connivance at, certain corrupt practices which were proved beyond a doubt at their bar? Or, to give but one instance more, did they express the sense of the people, when they refused to censure the Ministers who had sent out our armies to perish in Walcheren, but had even the boldness to approve of their conduct? No: they not only in such instances did not express the sense of the people, but the very opposite of that sense."—Sir John concluded his excellent speech by proposing two Petitions to the House, one for a Reform, and the other for the Liberation of Mr. J. G. Jones and Sir F. Burdett, which were seconded by Mr. Goodlake.—Mr. Golding opposed the Petitions, on the stale and false grounds, that for the improper influence in

the House, (which he did not deny), the People were alone to blame: they had, he said, the remedy in their own hands: why did they send such men to Parliament?—Mr. HALLET followed, and in a speech of great force maintained that the avenues to the Throne were shut by Ministers, who alleged that the King was blind, and could not therefore receive the City Petition: but did it follow, because he was blind, that he was deaf also? Might not the Petition have been read to him? But this would have been too much: How was it to be expected that persons would read to him their own condemnation? Expecting such service as this from Ministers, would be like requesting a man who had a blind master, to read to that master an unfavourable description of his character, at the moment he was expecting a new place or some increase of wages for his faithful services. *(A laugh.)* He believed the House of Commons had already too many privileges, without claiming any other. They had the high and dignified privilege of not paying their debts, and of cheating their honest creditors. *(A loud laugh and Applause).* That they might be free to discharge their Parliamentary duty, he would admit that such a privilege was necessary during the Session, but surely there could be no occasion for the extension of such a privilege beyond the Session, unless for the precise purpose of defrauding their creditors. *(Loud Applause.)*—They claimed privileges of such high and political importance, that no country could be safe to grant them. They wished to be set above the law, while the people, at the same time, were not to be informed of the extent of their claims. He deprecated the reflections that had been thrown out against persons advocating Reform. It appeared that persons asking for Reform were a weak, despicable crew,—in the language of Mr. Canning, "too weak to be feared, and too contemptible to be dangerous." He would ask Mr. Canning, what were the men *he* had associated with? Among the first they found Lord Melville; then John Bowles; then Mr. Villiers, a very "loyal man" no doubt, but who had defrauded the public of many thousands; and then Mr. Hunt, who had fled the kingdom, after plundering the Public Treasury. Such were *the crew* that Mr. Canning had associated with, and whose robberies Mr. Perceval was so delicate as to call a misapplication of the public money. What were they to think of this mild and softened term? If any man had a servant who ran away with his treasure, would he call that a *misapplication* of his money instead of a robbery?—*(Applause.)*—What would they think of a person coming to that bar, which was a Court of Justice, accused of having picked his neighbour's pocket, who should say that he had only *misapplied* a little of his neighbour's money? People might employ what terms they pleased, but for his own part he would declare eternal war against such misappliers. "They say we wish to degrade all public men, but what motive can I have for doing so? I have no room to be dissatisfied—I want nothing. The truth is, they degrade themselves by their conduct." He believed Sir F. Burdett to be a very worthy and indeed exemplary man, and his whole political life had hitherto shewn him so. He had been accused of wishing the cursed leaves to be torn out of the Red Book, as if he wished to destroy the King and our Constitution, the army and navy, and the whole establishment. But this by no means followed. There were some useful leaves in the Red Book, which no man would wish to have torn out, but there were also, it must be admitted, cursed leaves in that book. He had one in his pocket, which he here produced. "I will shew you one cursed leaf. Here is one in which we have Mr. Hunt receiving so much of the public money, not for duties performed, but to give him an opportunity of plundering the public. This was no new opinion. It was said before, by Mr. Burke and Mr. Dunning, who had complained of the increase of the Red Book, and the consequent increase of the influence of the Crown." He here exhibited, as a proof of this assertion, three different Red Books, during a period of fifty years. The first contained only 155 pages; the second 272, and pages, too, of a large magnitude; while the third, that of 1810, contained 395 pages, which was, during fifty years, an increase of 240 pages, besides a large appendix that had been published this year, though not by public authority, and which contained as many pages itself as the original Red Book. He did not mean, by speaking in this way, to condemn all the leaves in the Red Book, but amid so great and rapid an increase, how many cursed leaves must there be; and on a review of the book, who could not point out some leaf, nay, many leaves of this description?—Had the people been properly represented, such leaves, he was confident, would never have existed.—Dr. VALPY said, he did not approve of the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett in resisting the House of Commons, who certainly possessed the power of committing its own Members. The Doctor confessed that it was his wish to see such men as Lords Grey and Grenville in power. As for Reform, though he once opposed it, the experience of the last few years had taught him the necessity of it.—A GENTLEMAN here observed, that Lord Grenville and his friends, when in power, had done nothing but raise the Income Tax—*(Applause.)*—Mr. H. MARSH denied that the people had the power of correcting a corrupt House of Commons: the Electors were nothing compared to the great body of the people; and it was quite notorious that Members were returned by interests in direct opposition to the people.—Mr. BICHENO and Mr. VINES supported the Petitions.—Sir MOSES XIMINES was decidedly hostile to them.—The two Petitions, and an Address to Sir F. Burdett (to be presented by the High Sheriff), were then agreed to. The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the High Sheriff, Sir J. Throckmorton, and Mr. Goodlake, and the Meeting broke up.—It was conducted throughout with much decorum: the minority, though very small, were heard with great patience, and all personal disrespect was avoided,—an example which we hope will be followed by every future public meeting, as being both politic and just.

In consequence of the refusal of the Mayor of Rochester to accede to the wishes of a respectable number of his Fellow Citizens, to convene a Common Hall, notice was given that a Meeting would be held under the Guildhall, at the city of Rochester, at half-past six o'clock on Monday evening. Several waggons and carts were placed under the Hall in the afternoon, to which temporary railings were affixed, and a tolerably commodious husting was composed of them. At six o'clock the space under the Hall, and the adjoining part of the street, became filled with the citizens and inhabitants. About half-past six, J. Hulkes, Esq. and a large party of his friends, arrived, when it was proposed by Mr. Larkin, and seconded by Mr. Cooper, that Mr. Hulkes should take the chair, which was immediately assented to. Several resolutions, deprecating the late proceedings relative to Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Gale Jones, were entered into, and an Address to the House of Commons on the subject was unanimously voted.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 5.

The Countess of Pembroke (being a foreigner) was introduced to the table of the House, where her Ladyship took the necessary oaths, previously to her being naturalized.

THE NAVY.

Lord STANHOPE said, that he had a proposition to submit to their Lordships, which was of far greater importance than any set of motions which had been made in that House for a number of years. It related to the security of the British Navy, on the security of which the very existence of the nation depended. His Lordship then went into a detailed account of the mischievous invention made in France some years ago by an American of the name of Fulton, for the destruction of ships of the largest size. The experiment of it was made at Boulogne and at Cherbourg, and it succeeded to a certain degree. The inventor was afterwards invited over to this country by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville). They held out great encouragement to him and obtained an explanation of his secret.

The experiment was repeated in some of our harbours and was attended with the like success. Now, as it had been ascertained that it might prove most formidable to the British Navy if employed by the enemy, the object of his motion would be, to ascertain what measures had been taken by the British Government to apply a remedy in order to defeat the operation of such an engine. His Lordship urged the propriety of all the King's ships being possessed of such engines; and concluded by moving for a Return of the Ships in his Majesty's service, with the view of so arming them.—The motion was negatived.—The numbers being—Contents, 8—Non-Contents, 25,—Against it, 17.—Adjourned.

Wednesday, June 6.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE moved, that the Petitions from the Irish Catholics be referred to a Committee of the whole House. The motion was opposed by the LORD CHANCELLOR, Lords CLANCARTY, LIVERPOOL, DE DUNSTANVILLE, BORINGDON, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, and REDESDALE; and supported by the Duke of NORFOLK, Lords ERSKINE, HOLLAND, and GREY, (Lord GRENVILLE was absent, or silent.)—Upon a division, there appeared, for the motion, 68 only,—against it 154; leaving a majority against the Catholics of 86.—Adjourned.

Thursday, June 7.

Several Bills were brought up from the Commons and read a first time; and Lord LIVERPOOL presented a Message from the King respecting the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's Salary.—Adjourned.

Friday, June 8.

The Insolvent Debtors Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Thursday next.—Some conversation took place on this subject, and Lord STANHOPE, who supported the Bill, said, he was happy to see two Lawyers on one side of the House and three on the other, who had trimmed each other, which had saved him the trouble of trimming them altogether.—*(A laugh.)*

CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN.

Lord LANSDOWNE made his motion on this subject, and entered at length into all the wretched measures of Ministers, which from the first had rendered the cause of Spain hopeless. His Lordship's arguments were good but not new, as indeed there was nothing new to say on such a topic. He concluded by moving two Resolutions;—

"1. That it appears to this House, after the most attentive examination of the papers laid before them relative to the late Campaign in Spain, that the safety of the army was improvidently and uselessly risked, and every loss and calamity suffered, without ground on which to expect any good result, and that the whole did end in the retreat of the army.

"2. That, previously to entering on this Campaign, Ministers did not procure the necessary information of the state of Spain, or of its military resources—of the supplies that could be afforded, &c. as the most obvious policy required; and that the consequence of this rashness and ignorance was a result the most calamitous."

The Marquis WELLESLEY entered on the defence of the Campaign, the misfortunes of which he seemed to attribute to the Spanish Junta, and events which could not have been foreseen. Speaking of the Spanish Government, he let drop two or three truisms, which appeared to amuse the Whigs.—He said, "When men, assuming the reins of Government, obtain power, they seldom are disposed to relinquish their situations. *(Hear! from the Opposition.)* It is not natural to the human character to see its own defects, and there is no wonder the Spanish Government should be insensible to its inefficiency. The Junta of Spain could not be liable to greater censure than other governments; for Noble Lords will be aware, *from experience*, that there is scarcely an instance in any country of a government reforming itself. It reminds me of a sect of philosophers, who always delayed their information to the subsequent day; and it would [illegible] extreme censure, if such were the character of the Government of Spain." The Marquis concluded by asserting [illegible] *no ground for dismay*

and fear,—that he should advise the continuation of the contest in Spain so long as there was the power of resistance left in that country,—and that he would encourage the last breath of *Liberty* and *Independence* in the Peninsula.

The Resolutions were supported by Earls DARNLEY and ROSSLYN, and Lord HOLLAND,—and opposed by Lords SIDMOUTH, BORINGDON, and ROSS.—The House then divided—For the Resolutions, 73—Against them, 139.—Majority in favour of Ministers, 66.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 5.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

Sir T. TURTON moved that there should be laid hereafter before the House an account of the Public Expenditure of the preceding year, previous to the 10th of February, and to the voting supplies for the ensuing year.

Mr. FOSTER and Mr. ROSE opposed the motion, on the ground of its impracticability.

Mr. P. MOORE supported the motion, and said that if this measure had been before put into effect, there would have been since the war a saving to the Public of 100 millions.

Mr. PERCEVAL said, that the accounts were at present made up against the earliest possible period: he thought that the Hon. Baronet's object could not be put in practice.

On a division, there appeared for the motion 28—against it 66—majority 38.

LORD DURSLEY.

The House resumed the debate upon the Gloucestershire Petition.

Lord DURSLEY said, that to prevent his words from being misrepresented, he had committed to paper what he should now read to the House, and which was in substance as follows:—"I am authorised by my Father, the Earl of Berkeley, to assert, that I am his eldest son and heir apparent. This declaration I could avoid by the delivery of my landed qualifications, which are in my possession; but I feel so shocked at the imputation on my title and my birth, that I prefer the present mode. It is in my power to afford the House every information it may wish on the subject."—*(Hear, hear!)*

Sir S. ROMILLY asked the Hon. Gentleman, before the question for the petition lying on the table shall be put, if it was his intention to produce any evidence of the allegations?

Mr. SWAN said, that he simply moved for the petition to lie on the table, he then left it to the House to act as they pleased.

Sir. S. ROMILLY did not know what steps the House could take.—To the Noble Lord himself, no blame could be attached; he relied on the assertions of a parent, and had even been received by his Sovereign.—Would the House then suffer this petition to lie on its table, to be held out *in terrorum*, and for no other purpose than exciting uneasiness and producing animosity in breasts where the fondest affections existed?—If the House were to receive this petition it would be hereafter in the power of malignity to poison conjugal happiness, and to plant thorns in the hearts of the innocent, by making the proceedings of this House a vehicle to publish its libels.

Mr. PERCEVAL agreed as to the hardships and delicacy of the question, but he would concur in the vote, for he thought the law of the land was imperative as to the petition being received.

After some debate the House divided—for referring the Petition, 46—against it 91—majority against it, 45.—The Petition was of course rejected.

PENITENTIARY HOUSES.

Sir S. ROMILLY rising, spoke at considerable length, recommending to the House the erection of Penitentiary Houses. The adoption of such a measure he thought would restore many to society who would otherwise never reform. He concluded by moving an Address to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that so much of the Act of the 19th of his present Majesty, as relates to the erection of

Penitentiary Houses, as also that of the 34th of the present reign, he laid before the House.

Mr. Secretary RYDER replied to the principal points in the speech of the Hon. and Learned Gentleman, and hoped he would withdraw his motion, and postpone any farther proceedings on the subject till the commencement of the ensuing Session, when a Committee could be appointed to consider of the measure best to be adopted.

Mr. WILBERFORCE descanted at length on the advantages that would result from reforming while punishing the offender, and conjured the House, as they valued themselves on their care of the public money, and on their humanity, to support the proposition of his Honourable and Learned Friend.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL was much in favour of the plan, but approved of the proposition of his Right Hon. Friend, as giving them time to enter more fully into the subject.

Mr. WHITBREAD supported the original motion; was averse to any delay, and could see no reason for the postponement.

Sir S. ROMILLY, in reply, stated himself to be incapable of acceding to the proposition of the Right Hon. Gentleman, and unwilling to refer the subject to a Committee.

On dividing, the numbers were—For the Motion, 52—Against it, 69.

FIFTEENTH REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF NAVAL REVISION.

Mr. SHARPE complained that the Fifteenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Revision had not been laid before the House. The Report to which he alluded set forth the necessity of establishing a new Naval Arsenal at Northfleet. It appeared that our harbours at Portsmouth and Plymouth were on the decline, having less depth of water than formerly, so that ships coming in to be repaired were obliged to have their guns and stores taken out before they could enter. Similar inconveniences were experienced at Deptford and at Woolwich, so that ships of the line were obliged to drop down to Long Reach, or Northfleet, to be fitted out for sea. These circumstances rendered the establishment of a new Naval Arsenal necessary. The immense expences incurred in consequence of the evils he had described were sufficient to answer any objection that might be made to the expence attending the establishment of a new Naval Arsenal, however great it might be. In the event of a peace, such an establishment would be necessary, as room would be wanting to lay up 130 sail of the line, and upwards of 400 other vessels of war. This was proposed in the Report as a remedy for the evils complained of, and Northfleet was named as having a greater depth of water than either of our docks at Portsmouth, at Deptford, or at Woolwich. He thought the Report ought to be laid upon their table, and concluded by moving, "An humble Address to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to direct that the Fifteenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Revision and the Report sent in to the Board of Admiralty relating to Mooring Chains be laid before the House."

Mr. YORKE observed, the present naval operations had outgrown all former systems; and it would, therefore, be proper to make some new arrangement to meet the inconvenience thence arising. It was, however, the first duty of Government to look well into all the circumstances and bearings of the case, before they expended 10,0000,000l. in forming the proposed new arsenal at Northfleet. The House could not, at present, enter fully into the question with prudence, but he hoped Government, at a period not very distant, would be able to grant the information required, or give satisfactory reasons for withholding it. He should oppose the motion, as the Report could not be produced at present without much inconvenience to the public service.

The motion was negatived without a division.—Adjourned.

Wednesday, June 6.

The Commercial Dock Company Bill was passed.

The House then went into a Committee of Supply, when it was proposed that 1034*l.* be granted to J. Read, Esq. to pay Special Constables during the late disturbances.—This grant was opposed by Mr. WHITBREAD, who affirmed that when Lord Castlereagh's and Sir J. Anstruther's houses were attacked by the mob, there was not a single Constable to be found. The Ministers, however, maintained that every thing had been done in the best of all possible ways, and the sum was at length voted to James Read, Esq.

BERKSHIRE PETITIONS.

Mr. C. DUNDAS presented two Petitions from the Freeholders of Berkshire, one praying for Parliamentary Reform, and the other praying for the release of Sir Francis Burdett and J. G. Jones, who had been imprisoned against law. The first Petition was received and laid on the table; but on the reading of the second,

Mr. PERCEVAL opposed its reception, on the ground that it alleged that the House had done an injury to the People by its vote.

Mr. WHITBREAD was astonished at this opposition. If the averment that the House had done wrong was to be taken for an insult, there was at once an end to the right of petitioning. It was truly ridiculous to suppose the House infallible.

Mr. RYDER said, that if the House received this Petition, it would be acknowledging the justice of the reproach it contained.

Mr. BROUGHAM, Sir S. ROMILLY, Lord MILTON, Mr. BARHAM, Sir T. TURTON, Mr. BRAND, Mr. CREEVEY, and Mr. C. DUNDAS, were of opinion that the Petition ought certainly to be received.

Mr. LOCKHART, Sir J. HALL, Mr. VANSITTART, and Mr. Teller YORKE, opposed its reception. Mr. YORKE said, that the principles of the Constitution appeared buried in Cimmerian darkness, and totally banished from the minds of the People. He had done his duty respecting Gale Jones. Mr. Yorke then alluded to Mr. Windham's opinions as agreeing with his own on this subject. If he were asked on whose head the shedding of innocent blood should fall, he would answer, on the head of Sir F. Burdett. The Petition, he said, conveyed the grossest insult, and should be rejected.—To this harangue Mr. WHITBREAD shortly observed, that opportunities would occur to answer Mr. Yorke, and advised him not to judge others, lest he himself should be judged.—A division then took place, when the Petition was rejected by a majority of 42, there being 36 for the motion, and 78 against it.

POOR CLERGY.

Upon the Resolution being read for granting 100,000l. for the relief of the Poor Clergy, Mr. WHITBREAD remarked, that the Superior Clergy were rich, and should themselves contribute to the wants of their poor brethren. He objected to taking such a sum from the pockets of the People, when the coffers of the Church were quite adequate to support such a demand.—Mr. PERCEVAL said that the grant was necessary, and it was therefore voted.

LOTTERIES.

On the third reading of the Lottery Bill, Mr. WHITBREAD and Mr. WILBERFORCE strongly objected to this mode of raising the supplies, on the ground that it was destructive of the morals of the people, and therefore a most disgraceful source of revenue.—Mr. PERCEVAL contended that all the evils attending Lotteries were now done away; and on a division there appeared a majority of 37 in favour of the measure, 24 voting against it, and 61 in its favour.—Adjourned.

Thursday, June 7.

LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

Mr. PERCEVAL presented a Message from the King, recommending the House to make a more adequate provision for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whose present small salary of 20,000l. a-year was inadequate to the maintenance of the dignity of that high office.—Mr. PERCEVAL said, that it was intended to add 10,000l. a-year to the salary.

MR. WINDHAM.

Lord MILTON, in moving for a new Writ for the rotten Borough of Higham Ferrars, took the opportunity of pronouncing a panegyric on Mr. Windham, whose death, he said, should not go unlamented by the House. "His character,"

continued his Lordship, "is on the whole unsullied; and all who had admiration for great genius—all who set a value on mental acquirements, and who remembered his eloquence, must confess that there is an irreparable vacancy.—*(Loud cries of Hear! Hear! Hear!)*—He had great natural talents, and stood high in the opinion of all for acquired talents. Though he was eminent for talents, generosity, and integrity, yet there was part of his character in which his equal had never been—he meant his undaunted intrepidity.—Under all circumstances, and under all trying occasions, he spoke his mind—*(Loud cries of Hear! Hear! Hear!)*—If ever it might be said of any man in that House,

"Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida,"

it was of Mr. Windham. He was a man whose integrity of mind no considerations of fear or of favour could warp. The qualities that distinguished Mr. Windham were valuable at all times; but if they were more necessary at one time than at another, it was at the present moment. But while I praise, let me not exaggerate. It was never his good fortune to enjoy what is *called* popularity; but *real high character* and *popularity* are not always conjoined, which has never been more amply exemplified than in the instance of Mr. Windham. There is one consolation, that popularity was of little avail if he enjoyed a pure conscience. That only could make peace within. A pure conscience we may have, though we may not have popularity; and the finest of all gratifications to a noble mind is, that we have deserved the good opinion of our fellow-men.—He had *indiscretions*, it is true; but who is there among us that will say he has none? But those indiscretions seemed not to arise from any defect in his understanding; but rather from his high-minded generosity. In all his conduct he seemed never to have taken any account of *his own interest*. He never considered whether he should lose little or gain much; what appeared to him right at the time he was acting or speaking, that course he pursued. Feelings and motives of the greatest *integrity* guided *all* his conduct. At the more earlier period of his life he was attached to another great man (Mr. Fox), whose loss I shall always consider as the greatest misfortune that could befal this country. From that great man Mr. Windham seemed to have imbibed those sentiments and principles which directed his future conduct.—*(A considerable pause.)*—But I feel that I am trespassing too much on the attention of the House; though speaking on such a subject, I hope to have some indulgence from the House.—*(Hear! Hear!)*—His eloquence, his disinterestedness, his high-minded generosity, come home to the feelings of all.—*(Loud cries of Hear! Hear! Hear!)*—These were manifest to every man in or out of the House, who have had the opportunity of observing his conduct. I wish to say something on some other parts of his character which others have not had the opportunity of observing—*(Here the Noble Lord again made a considerable pause.)*—But I feel myself unable to go on—perhaps, indeed, it is unnecessary. The House has seen him in his public character; and whether it is a political friend or a political foe, there can be but one opinion, that the House has sustained a loss, which, perhaps, the youngest of us may not live to see repaired.—*(Loud cries of Hear! Hear!)*—I have unburthened my own mind on this occasion, and in so doing have suffered much in lamenting the loss of such a man. I have not had sufficient possession of myself; but"—*(Here the Noble Lord concluded, sitting down much affected.)*

After this most fulsome and undeserved panegyric, Mr. CANNING rose, and following the same flowery course, talked much of the acquirements, the eloquence, the independence, the integrity, &c. &c. &c. &c. of the deceased "ever-to-be-lamented" Statesman. Mr. Canning was of opinion, that "the man who wished truly to serve his country" *(for Country, read, himself and family)* "without fear or favour, would do well sedulously to emulate his illustrious example."—And the Right Hon. Gentleman remarked, that had it not been for one of those places which it was the fashion to call blots on the Constitution *(rotten Boroughs)* "the great man now no more would not have for some years back been a Member of that House, and thus the benefit of his eminent talents might have been lost to his country."

Directly after Mr. CANNING had concluded this pleasant speech, Sir JAMES HALL signified his intention of moving for the discharge of Mr. G. Jones, either on Wednesday or Thursday next.

Mr. ROSE obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the more effectually protecting seamen and apprentices upon merchantmen from being impressed.

CAPTAIN FOSKETT.

Mr. LYTTLETON again brought Captain Foskett's case before the House. In so doing, he was well aware of the force of the present circumstances; he felt as much abhorrence for the late attempt on the Royal Duke, as any man could possibly experience, but could not compromise with any thing short of having Captain Foskett's character, so unwarrantably traduced, being completely cleared up. The Hon. Gentleman then entered into a long elucidation of Captain Foskett's conduct, concluding by moving a string of Resolutions, blaming the Commander in Chief for neglecting, contrary to the 1st article of the 12th section of the Articles of War, to redress the grievances of inferior officers, and proposing an humble Address to his Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to order such complaints of his officers to be immediately laid before him.

After some discussion strangers were ordered to withdraw; when the motion was negatived without a division.—Adjourned.

Friday, June 8.

Mr. J. SMITH presented a Petition and Remonstrance from the Town and County of Nottingham, praying for Reform, and the Release of J. G. Jones and Sir F. Burdett. It was read and received, as was also a Petition from Rochester on the same subjects.

A Counter-Declaration, from some Inhabitants of Kingston-upon-Hull, was also read and received.

Mr. WHITBREAD presented two Petitions, signed by 16,000 Protestant and Catholic Dissenters, praying for a Repeal of the Penal Statutes against them. Mr. Whitbread said, he felt proud in having been selected to present such Petitions, and should next Session call the attention of the House to this most important subject.

Mr. YORKE proposed an Address to his Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to order a Monument to be erected to the Memory of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood.—Agreed to *nem. con.*

PRIVILEGES OF THE COMMONS.

Mr. W. WYNNE, after restating his old arguments upon this head, moved the three following Resolutions:—

"I. Resolved, That whoever should presume to commence a Prosecution against the Speaker or Serjeant, for acting in obedience to the House, such person is guilty of a Breach of Privilege.

"2. Resolved, That it appears that Actions have been instituted by Sir F. Burdett against the Right Hon. Charles Abbott and John Colman, Esq. for acts done in obedience to this House.

"3. Resolved, That the proper Officer of the Court of King's Bench be summoned to attend at the Bar of the House to-morrow, with all the Proceedings already instituted."

On the first being put,

Mr. PERCEVAL objected to this mode of proceeding. The Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Wynne) had asked, what was to be done in case the Court of King's Bench decided against the House? He would answer, he relied on the justice of the Court. But if the decision of Lord Ellenborough was unfavourable, would the House commit him? He never knew an instance of a Lord of Parliament, or a Judge in the discharge of his duty, being committed. In such a case, *he should prefer an impeachment.*—*(Hear, hear!)*—He was certain, however, that no Judge would be guilty of such a perversion of the law and of such an abandonment of his duty. He was of opinion that the House should do no more in this business this session. The best way was for the House not to take the

question into its own hands, but to bring it under the consideration of another Court.

Mr. ADAM was of opinion, that the admission of the action was allowing that it could be brought, which was also sanctioned by permitting the Speaker to plead. The House should not prorogue without an assertion of its privileges, the neglect of which might change the Constitution.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL agreed with Mr. Perceval.

Lord TEMPLE said, that the House, by its proceedings on this subject, had committed an act of political suicide,—had dug their own grave, and entombed themselves, by hastily abandoning those privileges which their ancestors had preserved for two hundred years. All this they owed to the misconduct of Ministers,—to their momentary fits of courage and cowardice. He should certainly vote for the Resolutions.

Mr. H. SMITH and Mr. PETER MOORE supported the Resolutions; Mr. WYNNE replied, and the House divided—Ayes, 14—Noes, 74.—Majority against the Resolutions, 60.

VICEROY OF IRELAND.

Mr. PERCEVAL informed the House, that not only the present, but the late Lord Lieutenant, had expended double the amount of their salaries, and he therefore put it to the House, whether filling the highest offices of the State should be a source of ruin to the individuals who filled them? The salary was 20,000l. but 30,00 l. was the least sum required to defray the expences of the office—He therefore proposed an Address to the King, praying him to make such increased allowance, and the House would pledge themselves to make the necessary additions to the Irish Civil List.

Mr. TIGHE was quite astonished that such an application should now be made, as since the Union the office itself had become altogether useless. The Viceroy was now a mere *memento mori*, to preserve in the minds of the unfortunate Irish the recollection of the independence they once enjoyed. Until the present reign, a resident Viceroy had never been thought of. In Scotland there was no such officer;—the first civil officer in that country had only 3000l. per ann. and he really saw no reason why Dublin Castle was to be distinguished with vice-royal splendour any more than Holyrood House. If this addition was allowed, similar applications would next year be made for augmentations to the salaries of many other officers, and with equal justice. Such a grant would be a most profligate one, and he thought it an attempt to entrap the House at the conclusion of the session.

Mr. MARTIN, Mr. GRATTAN, and others, opposed the grant,—Mr. HUSKISSON and Mr. GIDDY supported it; and after some further debate the House rejected the Amendment by a majority of 44, and the Address was then voted.—Adjourned.

TUESDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

BANKRUPTS.

J. Kinnear, Liverpool, merchant.
R. Davies, Rose's Gateway, Russel-street, Bermondsey, leather-dresser.
W. Swarks, Castle-street, Leicester-fields, currier.
W. Brearley, Birmingham, money-scrivener.
H. Ross, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant.
J. Critchley, Nottingham, draper.
J. Carter, Stockton, Durham, dealer.
J. Oakley, St. John-street, West Smithfield, bedstead-maker.
M. Hackworth, Felling, Durham, anchorsmith.
J. Meanley, Rochdale, Lancashire, ironmonger.
J. Simpson and W. G. Fairman, Old 'Change, factors.
J. Smith, St. John-street, West Smithfield, lath-render.
J. W. Allen, High-street, Lambeth, corn-chandler.
W. Newman, Canterbury-square, Southwark, merchant.
D. Hewitt, Stoke Newington, carpenter.
J. Parker, Gunthorpe, Norfolk.

SATURDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

BANKRUPTS.

A. Hunter, Little Portland-street, coach-maker.
P. Russel, Sheerness, slopseller.
J. and J. Rose, Tooley-street, provision-merchants.
J. Nelson, Liverpool, taylor.
M. Parker, Ripon, Yorkshire, shopkeeper.
J. Wyllie, Copthall-court, merchant.
H. Duckworth, Liverpool, merchant.
W. Parnell, Stoney-lane, Southwark, common-brewer.
E. Evans, Neath, Glamorganshire, shopkeeper.
G. Arrowsmith, Bell-Savage-yard, money-scrivener.
W. Stonebridge, Colchester, grocer.
T. Woodward the younger, Ride, Suffolk, shopkeeper.
C. Grayson, Liverpool, ship-builder.
J. Brown, Crosley-square, Bishopsgate-within, money-scrivener.

Some REMARKS at length next week on the CHARACTER and CONDUCT of the late Rt. Hon. W. WINDHAM.

Several Communications are delayed till next Number for want of room.

THE EXAMINER.

LONDON, JUNE 10.

THE Public Meetings that have been held during the course of the past week, in various parts of the kingdom, will be contemplated by the reader with great satisfaction, not only on account of the proofs they furnish of the increasing political knowledge of the people, but because they present great instances of good sense and reasoning, and remarkable instances of good temper. It is indeed a great blessing to the cause of Reform, that its temper seems to grow better and better, in proportion as its enemies grow more stubborn and angry. A feeling so well grounded and honourable is of incalculable advantage to it in every way;—it gives the best proof of a consciousness of right, it offers the best argument against imputation of rashness, and it is the most powerful persuasive of the timid and the doubtful. In the mean time, the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, who talked of themselves so beautifully, and contradicted themselves so unwittingly, have made the shoulder-shrugging confession according to promise. After lamenting, with pen in one hand and handkerchief in the other, that in consequence of the Treasury absorption of influence they "*now* see no such thing as an *Opposition Man* in *any* office," and "no such thing as an Opposition Member having the power to provide for a single friend or *dependant*," they proceed to account in the following manner for the gross corruption, which the other day they so abused the Reformists for denouncing:—

"We are now, however, awakened from the pleasing dream into which such feelings had lulled us,—and we have risen up to redeem the pledge which we solemnly offered to the country. We have traced the causes of the disappointment so sorely felt by the whole nation in common with ourselves;—the cause, let us rather call it—the single but fruitful cause, of all our calamities at home and abroad—of the misgovernment which reigns in every department of affairs—the ENORMOUS INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN. This it is that enables the Crown to choose its own Ministers, without even a chance of the Parliament or the country controuling the appointments;—this it is that secures to whomsoever may be installed in office, the constant support of the Parliament, and the silent acquiescence of the people; this it is that insures impunity to delinquency, and indemnity to systematic failure and ostentatious imbecility.—Indemnity, did we say?—The triumphs

of Influence do not stop here. It is this that has actually presented to an astonished generation the spectacle of applause publicly bestowed upon the Authors of our disgraces and misfortunes—and bestowed expressly for having ruined and disgraced us.

"But the increase of the Power of the Crown could not have effected such changes in the ordinary course of things—nay, in the very feelings of men's minds, without some instrument whereby it might operate. And this machinery is only to be found in the Abuses which, through the lapse of time, have crept into the Constitution of Parliament. A Reform of those Abuses is the grand object, then, to which the eyes of all good men should now be directed, as the best chance of regaining what we have lost. Those who before were doubtful on this great question, are now confirmed. Numbers who were hostile to Reform have been converted; and multitudes who were insensible to its importance have been roused. We speak advisedly when we say, that we can trace the effects of the Walcheren Division in the conversation of every man not immediately connected with the Government, as often as the subject of Reform is broached. Had it not unfortunately been mixed up with other subjects, so successfully introduced by the Ministers for the express purpose of distracting the public attention, we should in all likelihood have owed to that most eloquent event—that powerful display of the rhetoric of numbers—a complete change in the opinion of the People on the cause of Reform, and a certain prospect of its being speedily victorious."

This is all very well and very candid, and the Reviewer, whoever he was that wrote that unfortunate article in No. 30, might have enjoyed an unadulterated praise for his candour; but he has been in the wrong, and, it seems, is not in very good temper with those who have helped to set him right. Above all, the Reformists *are* right, and he is not philosopher enough to say so without giving them an impatient grin of malignity at parting.

"We have too long," says he, "been calumniated, and too often received every species of base adulation from our calumniators, to be in the smallest degree anxious what reception the foregoing pages may meet with, either among the wretched minions of present power, or the equally contemptible tools of a tumultuous faction. It is hard to say, whether the arts of the one or the other class of impostors are most despicable;—for, as an utter disregard of truth and contempt of decency characterize the feeble efforts of both classes in nearly the same degree, we cannot stop to apportion the shares of other qualities which may belong to each,—and we recollect the labours of the one and the other with the same impressions."

By "base adulation" the grateful politician means, I suppose, the honest praise of an antagonist; but what he intends by the word "Impostors," as applied to writers who have so long been urging what he is at last obliged to urge himself, is perfectly inexplicable. All this is very weak and not a little mean. Despise him I do not; be enraged with him I cannot; but pity him I do, and that most heartily.

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The Princess Amelia, it is said, is much better, and the Duke of Cumberland is getting well of the wounds he received in his late most mysterious rencontre with Scillis, who was buried on Monday in Scotland-yard.

The Americans, it is said, have opened their ports to us.

THEATRICAL EXAMINER.

No. 71.

COVENT-GARDEN.

It was understood by the town that the new drama of the *Widow's only Son*, written by Mr. Cumberland, was to be considered as an attempt to revive the true humour and urbanity of genuine comedy. No object could be more desirable; and there was a time when no writer could have raised more pleasing expectations of it's accomplishment. But it is no secret that Mr. Cumberland has grown old; and if it had been, his later writings would not have suffered him to keep it. People, therefore, who sincerely respect the former achievements and the present claims of that Gentleman, but whose respect for him is no less honest than sincere, had very little agreeable anticipation in going to the Theatre last Thursday to witness his new production: they said to each other, we shall have a threadbare work, some of the patches of which will be better than the best suits of our farce-makers; but we are sorry that Mr. Cumberland should think it to his advantage to shew us what he can do no longer, and we are afraid that the result will neither make himself comfortable nor the other dramatists ashamed.—Unfortunately they anticipated justly.—The *Widow's only Son* is a sentimental comedy, with a few of the beauties and a great many of the faults of that species of writing. *Frederick Montalbert*, the hero, lately come from college, is an amiable and elegant youth, whose father fell in a duel, and left him and his mother struggling with the world: he has indeed an old uncle, *Sir Marmaduke Montalbert*, who is very rich; but then the baronet is at the same time very proud, and his affections seem to have been alienated from his poor relations. *Frederick*, therefore, is obliged to look to his college-talents for support, and is recommended, on that score, to a *Lord Fungus*, who having not an atom of literature himself, is willing to enjoy the merit of it by patronizing and mimicking those who have. If his Lordship, however, has neither sense nor dignity himself, he has a daughter who possesses both; and between this young lady and our hero, on their *first* interview, as in duty bound, arises an ardent passion, very much to the honour of both parties, and greatly to the discredit and annoyance of a groom of quality, one *Lord Spangle*, who first insults and then challenges his rival. In the mean time, what is wanting to *Sir Marmaduke* in virtue, is luckily supplied for him by an old family servant, of whom it is sufficient to say, that his talent lies in giving advice. The feelings awakened in the Baronet's conscience by the eloquence of this servant, and by the supposition that *Lord Fungus* has challenged him, produce an excellent alteration in his conduct towards his nephew, whom, in the twinkling of an eye, he puts in possession of a noble castle and the greater part of his estates. *Frederick's* mother arrives in town in consequence, the Lord and Baronet find themselves mistaken, to the great relief of the one and comfort of the other, and every body becomes happy, but the youth himself, who with complete felicity in his grasp, finds himself compelled to risk it by fighting *Lord Spangle*. In vain his mother, who discovers the approaching duel, sets the fatal end of his father before his eyes:—he answers by drawing out his father's picture, which he always wears

in his bosom, and which seems to have a very contradictory kind of influence upon him at such a time, —at once melting his heart and strengthening his resolution. However, the properties of this piece of ivory are very soon explained, and valuable properties they are, for they turn aside the ball of *Lord Spangle* and save the wearer's life. Our hero of course enjoys his unmixed triumph; every thing is as it should be but the miniature, and all persons are happy but the audience.—The most striking defects of this piece are want of consistent character, want of situation, and in a word, want of originality. *Sir Marmaduke* is a kind master and an unfeeling relation;—the young lady is full of dignity and forwardness;—and *Lord Spangle*, who ought to have been purely contemptible, is at once mean and magnanimous, cowardly and full of courage. The good-understanding between the old folks, by which the lovers were at one time abruptly left together, and the turtle-dove colloquy that ensued, deservedly met the reprehension of the audience: the stratagem of the miniature was still worse; and the hero's sudden changes of fortune are part of the most common and most unmeaning lumber of the stage. On the common-place antiquity of the characters, it is needless to expatiate. At the same time, there are undoubted marks of what the hand has been when it was young. The negative merits are quite refreshing—no punning, no vulgarity, no indecency. The follies of modern coxcombs, their habits without meaning and their looks "without speculation" are ridiculed with a scorn infinitely more honourable to the author and more useful to the audience than the half-approving mimicry of the other dramatists, and the language is as different from their general style as good manners are from bad. But Mr. Cumberland's day is gone; he may occasionally shew a vigour and a grace, but his limbs altogether fail him in the gymnasium; and he ought to be reposing under the laurels he has formerly won instead of hazarding them in the dust and sunshine he can no longer bear:—it is not his rivals that are too powerful for him;—it is his own weakness.

The more apparent, however, this truth, the more lamentable is it, that a man of genius and virtue should be reduced in his old age to expedients so mortifying,—for, from what is reported in the town, and indeed from a bitter passage or two in the present drama on the miseries of writing for bread, this would actually appear to be the case. The present Administration exhibits nothing that is not altogether despicable in point of feeling as well as policy; but it is a disgrace to all the Administrations for the last twenty years, that the Author of the *Observer*, the *West Indian*, and other estimable productions, should have been thus neglected. He has contributed to adorn our literature, and we should be grateful for the honour:—he has helped to encourage us in the love of virtue, and we should be grateful for the service:—he is old, and what further claim can he want upon our respect—upon our feelings—upon our very shame?

THE OPERA.

Sir—The rage for every thing Persian, excited by the arrival of the Envoy, has extended itself to the Opera-house, where Signor Rossi has called forth all his powers in the production of, what he calls, a Persian ballet. A total ignorance of the manners and costume of Persia has formed no obstacle to his design, and although half an hour's reading, and a still shorter time spent in gazing upon the natives of that country, now in London, would have prevented the commission of numerous absurdities, he has gone on profoundly determined to follow the dictates of his own fancy. The motley piece thus produced is called "*L'Epouse Persanne*,"—*the Persian Wife*, and though announced as entirely new, was performed only two or three years ago under the name of "*Le Serrail*." This deception proves that Signor Rossi justly appreciates the merit of his productions, in imagining that they can so soon be forgotten. The story is merely the introduction to the Haram of a new candidate for the affections of the monarch, who creates a violent enmity in the minds of the other ladies, particularly of one who manifests a strong inclination to thrust a dagger in her rival's heart. To effect her malicious purposes, she endeavours to procure the assistance of a black slave, but not succeeding, ventures on the deed herself and fails in the execution. Discovery and repentance as usual go hand in hand, and as she cannot kill her rival, embraces her most cordially, and flies at once from hatred to it's opposite extreme. The dresses, like the plot, are extremely inconsistent, and like any thing rather than the habits of Persia. The heavy cap of sheep's wool is exchanged for a peaked bonnet, apparently of painted pasteboard; the long garments reaching to the feet are thrown aside for a toga that scarcely covers the knee; the beard deducted from the face, the skin bleached, and the loose drawers altered to tight pantaloons. Then the females are divested altogether of the manners of the Persians, who consider it the height of immodesty to unveil the face, and carry decorum so far that the physician never sees his patient, nor even feels her pulse, but through the medium of linen or gauze. Yet we find the ladies of Signor Rossi's seraglio exposing their countenances with unblushing effrontery, and twirling and jumping till they appear in their descent like an extended parachute. The only merit of the ballet, it may easily be conceived, is the judicious selection of dances; the celebrated *pas de trois*, from *Tamerlane*, is introduced by the Desnayes and Monnoy, with great effect, and Vestris and Angiolini skip and spin with more than usual vivacity.

I have once more to lament the introduction of juvenile talent in the person of a little girl of the name of Mori, a pupil of Madame Angiolini, whose parents have been unfeeling enough to add her to the number of those unfortunate infants, whose forlorn prospect is, to pass their early years in incessant fatigue and their maturity in infamy.—This little child is said to be but eight years of age, and dances with a precision and brilliancy that can only have been acquired by compulsory instruction, since children so young do not possess the perseverance requisite for the voluntary attainment of such proficiency. How melancholy is the prospect of such a friendless infant, without time for acquiring the rudiments of education, that may lead to future knowledge and virtue, and accustomed to the society of an instructress, whose slender reputation would deter a person of common feeling from entrusting a daughter to her care. At length she is pronounced fit for public exhibition, and brought to the theatre many hours after the usual time of children's rest, to have her face rouged,

her limbs clothed in the thinest covering that decency will permit, and to be gazed upon by fifty or a hundred gentlemen crowding round her with a suffocating curiosity, till the time arrives for her appearance, when she commences her twisting and twirling operations at the risk of dislocation, and is wrought up to a fever heat that renders her liable to colds that may endanger her existence. Yet for all this exertion, the only satisfaction the parents, if they deserve the name, enjoy, is to put into their pockets a guinea or two, hardly earned at the imminent hazard of a daughter's life and reputation. H. R.

FINE ARTS.

ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION.

In taking leave of the few good History Paintings which grace the Academy, I should deem myself unpardonable if I omitted to notice the following productions of two young Students, which contain the seeds of future excellence. 122. *Artemisia, with the ashes of her loved Mausolus mingled in a cup with her drink.* J. Lane.—She reclines over the cup with affectionate and inconsolable regret, and exhibits much beauty in her form and countenance. The forms are vigorously drawn, but hard. 370. *Q. Katherine delivering to Capucius her farewell letter to K. Hen. 8th.* A. Perigal.—The subject is pathetically felt, judiciously composed, and on the whole, well coloured, and finely drawn. Capucius, on his knee, receives the letter from the care-worn Queen with a mingled expression of sympathy and respect, while the attendants exhibit a very natural and deep felt grief at the unmerited calamity of their mistress.

In 822, *A monument for India to the memory of Josiah Webbe, Esq.* Mr. Flaxman displays his elevated taste in the simplicity of his composition, the gracefulness of his attitudes, the suitable expression of his figures, and the correctness of his drawing. These excellencies eminently shine in No. 745, "*Instruct the Ignorant:*" *a basso relievo.* A venerable old man is reading from an open book on his lap to a young man and woman on each side of him. Profound love and sage experience mark the preceptor's aspect. Docility and deep attention characterise the countenances and attitudes of his pupils, who lean over the book with the eager desire of knowledge. The unaffected elegance and compactness of the group, and the simple elegance of the dresses and positions, bear a close resemblance to the best designs of Stothard, which I am convinced Mr. Flaxman has by heart. A plain but ample garment covers the sage. Plain vests embrace the elegant forms of the youth, that of the young man falling down only to his knees. His short hair is simply parted on the forehead; the female's is neatly braided.—In short, an impressive delicacy and refined taste prevail throughout the whole, leaving the tasteful mind nothing to wish for in the appropriate display of the subject.

100. *Village Choristers rehearsing an Anthem for Sunday.* E. Bird.—In a strong conception of familiar life character, this Artist is on the advance towards Mr. Wilkie's excellence; but were he equal in this respect, the inferiority of his coloring, clare obscure, and finishing, would render the latter much more estimable. Mr. Bird has however improved this year in these pictorial constituents, and *the Village Choristers* ranks high in the class of familiar life. The groups are well arranged, and the characters not only highly natural, but diversified. The clerk, the leader of the band, is beating time with great self importance, one arm uplifting a music scroll, and the other directing a gardener in his performance on a violincello. A gardener and a shoemaker, with their sons, are joining with sympathetic ardor in the instrumental performance. A farmer singing, looks with directive earnestness at his vocal daughter, while her brother, who holds the notes, scratches his lubber head at the difficulty he finds in singing them. A lover and his mistress occupy a table by themselves. She sings from the notes which she holds for herself and lover, who is playing on the clarionet. A sailor with a wooden leg, who is interrupting the concert with his vehement discourse, is requested silence by an old man. This is significantly expressed by his pointing to the performers, and by his pouting mouth, which delivers the interdictive sound—*hush.* The landlord is urging his wife out of the room, to get rid of her brawling infant. This is a highly natural incident, as is the covered birdcage, but the latter thought is borrowed from Mr. Wilkie's picture of the *Sick Room.*

Mr. Turner has three charming landscapes. Two of them, Nos. 85 and 115, represent *Lowther Castle* and the rich country around it. In No. 85, the declining sun throws his long shadows athwart the umbrageous scenery. In No. 115, the solar orb reflects a mid day effulgence. No. 138 exhibits *Petworth, the seat of the Earl of Egremont,* with the effect of a dewy morning, and the lucid and expansive bosom of a river beautifully reflects an effulgent and variously tinted sky, the trees, and other objects. Mr. Turner has exhibited in these pieces the vivid dress of Nature as she appears in the yellow season of Spring,—

"——Who from her green lap throws
"The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose."

I regret that my limits will not allow me to give a detail of these masterly performances, and of seventeen others which occupy his Gallery this year in Harley-street, representing various English and foreign landscapes, sea-pieces, and buildings, with the most tasteful effects of colour, light, and shade.—I find that Mr. Fuller does not waste all his spare money in purchasing an opportunity to sound in the ears of the nation coarse oaths and jokes that would grace a Whip Club dinner, for he has a contradictory relish for paintings, and has purchased one in this admirable collection, called the *Fish-market.*

127. *A Landscape, in which is introduced the story of Diana and Acteon.* A. W. Callcott, R. A.—This piece presents a craggy foreground, embosomed by lofty trees, fit sequestration for Diana and her fellow bathing nymphs. Beyond these the offscape stretches to an immense distance, till bounded by mountains which lift their blue heads into the sky. Every object is stamped with beauty and grandeur, in the forms, the pencilling, the clare obscure, and colour. The pencilling and the forms have the decision and boldness of Titian, and though there is lively contrast of colour, it is effected without harshness, for the warm hue of the foreground not only gradates into a cooler tint as the objects assimilate with the blue mountains and sky, but is itself connected with the remote blues by some blue drapery in the figures. The rich and transparent colour, the broad masses, the dignified attitude of Diana starting with surprise at sight of Acteon, who is also in a suitable attitude of wonder,

the elegant and lofty trees and mountains, the voluminous and silvery clouds rolling along the azure sky, and the judicious composition of the whole, display the accomplished taste and judgment of a master, and elevate Mr. CALLCOTT to a very superior rank in his charming art.

Our Government have wholly rejected the proposition made to them to assist the efforts of the British Institution and tasteful individuals, for the Promotion of the Fine Arts. Every enlightened and patriotic Englishman must glow with shame at this, when he sees BONAPARTE bestowing high honours on French Artists, and cherishing the Arts in every way possible. This, however, was to be expected from the enemies of Reform, who are well aware, that it is not their interests to cherish the energies of intellect, To grant 7000l. a year to the Duke of Brunswick out of the pockets of the people, instead of the pockets of those who can better afford it; and to refuse 5000l. a year to promote the interest and glory of that people, are acts worthy of the Prime Minister of Parliamentary traffickers.

R H.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

MY LORD, *June* 5, 1810.

As it doth appear from the Books, that the House of Commons holds not the power of committal *(Per Legem Terræ)* by the *Law* of the land, I shall endeavour to shew, that neither doth it hold such power *(Per Consuitudinem)* by *Custom* of the realm, upon which ground it has endeavoured to defend its act. The *Consuitudines*, or customs of this realm, which form that part of the law of the land that is called the *Leges non Scriptæ*, (whose original institution and authority are not set down in writing, as Acts of Parliament are) receive their binding power, and the force of laws, by long and immemorial usage, and by their universal reception throughout the kingdom.—Our ancient lawyers affirm, that these customs are to be traced to the Primitive Britons.—However that be, my Lord, "These *Consuitudines*—these *customs*—in short, are the laws which gave rise and original to the *Lex non Scripta*, which is now known by the name of the Common Law of the Land, and are of higher antiquity than memory or history can reach: for my Lord HALE says, "the original of the Common Law is as undiscoverable as the head of the Nile."—*(Hist. Com. Law, 55.)*—nothing being more difficult than to ascertain the precise beginning and first spring of an antient and long-established custom.

"Whence it is, that in our law the goodness of a *custom* depends upon its having been used time out of mind, or in the solemnity of our legal phrase—*time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.—So that, if any one can shew the beginning of it, it is no good custom.*—*(Black. Com. Introd. 76)*—If any one shew the beginning of it within legal memory, *that is, within any time since the first year of the reign of Richard the First, it is not a good custom.*—(Editor's Note.)—For which reason, *no custom can prevail against an express Act of Parliament; since the Statute itself is a proof of a time when such a custom did not exist.*"—*(Ib.)*—Now, my Lord, what Act of Parliament or Statute can be more express upon this subject than *Magna Charta* (9th Hen. 3d.) which statute, Sir EDWARD COKE observeth, hath been confirmed and commanded to be put in execution by thirty-two several Acts of Parliament; and in which Charter, (c. 29.) it is expressly stated, "*Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, &c. nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per Legem Terræ.*

Now, my Lord, Magna Charta is since the first year of Richard the 1st, Anno Domini 1189; for Magna Charta was made 9th Hen. 3d, Anno Domini 1225; and the various statutes of Confirmation were made very many years subsequent thereto; *therefore cannot any supposed customary right be pleaded in bar to the Statute of 9th of Hen. 3d;*—nor can the usage of the House of Commons have grown into such a custom as to form a part of the Common Law of the Land.—For Mr. Justice BLACKSTONE saith, that "the authority of these maxims rests entirely upon general reception and usage: and the only method of proving that this or that maxim is a rule of the common law, is by shewing that it hath been *always* the custom to observe it (i. e.) since the 1st of Richard 1st."

"But here a very natural and very material question arises, how are these customs or maxims to be known, and by whom is their validity to be determined? The answer is, *by the Judges in the several Courts of Justice.* They are the depositaries of the laws, the living oracles, who must decide in all cases of doubt, and who are bound by an oath *to decide according to the law of the land.* Their knowledge of that law is derived from experience and study; from the "*viginti annorum* Lucubrationes," which FORTESQUE mentions, and from being long personally accustomed to the judicial decisions of their predecessors. And, indeed, these judicial decisions are the principal and most authorative evidence that can be given of the existence of such a custom, as shall form a part of the common law. The judgment itself, and all proceedings previous thereto, are carefully registered and preserved, under the name of records, in public repositories set apart for that particular purpose; and to them frequent recourse is had, when any critical question arises, in the determination of which former precedents may give light or assistance. And therefore, even so early as the Conquest, we find the "*præteritorum memoria eventorum,*" reckoned up as one of the chief qualifications of those who were held to be "*legibus patriæ optime instituti.*" For it is an established rule to abide by former precedents where the same points come again in litigation: as well to keep the scale of Justice even and steady and not liable to waver with every Judge's opinion; as also because the law in that case being solemnly declared and determined, what before was uncertain and perhaps indifferent, is now become a permanent rule, which it is not in the breast of any subsequent Judge to alter or vary from, according to his private sentiments: he being sworn to determine, not according to his own private judgment, but *according to the* KNOWN *laws and customs of the land;* not delegated to pronounce a *new* law, but to *maintain* and *expound the old one* —(Black. Com. Introd. 68 and 69.)

"And thus much for the first ground and chief corner stone of the laws of England, which is general immemorial custom or common law, *from time to time declared in the decisions of the Courts of Justice;* which decisions are preserved among our public records, explained in our reports, and digested for general use in the authoritative writings of the venerable Sages of the Law."—(Black. Com. Ibid 73.)

Whether it be CUSTOM, my Lord, from immemorial observance, or *Common Law*, from immemorial tradition, on which the right of committal of the subject depends, it is equally cognizable and determinable *in the King's Courts of Justice*, by those who are supposed to be "*legibus Patriæ optime instituti*," from the "*viginti annorum Lucubrationes:*" and, consequently, do we look up to you, my Lord, as Chief Guardian of our Common Rights, and the legal Champion of the Law of the Land.

But if the House of Commons grounds its privilege of committal *wholly upon Custom*, then doth the assumption refute itself—for one custom we know, my Lord, cannot be set up in law against another custom. "For if both are really customs, then both are of equal antiquity, and both established by mutual consent; which to say of contradictory customs is absurd."—(Black. Com. 79, Int.) If the House of Commons plead Custom to commit, why may not the House of Lords plead Custom to release, and then "these two contradictory Customs cannot both be good, nor both stand together."—(Ibid.)

I have not read in any of the various publications that have advocated the right of the House of Commons generally to commit, any other authority adduced than the several Resolutions of the House itself; and what doth that prove, my Lord? Nothing.—As what could possibly be a stronger assumption of that doctrine than the late individual act of the House? The time when such committals were *not* within the power of the House has been shewn by the various cases quoted by the advocates of its late act, consequently, if asserted as *a customary right*, it proves itself to be no good custom;—because it hath *not* been used so long that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary:—so that, as one *can* shew the beginning of it, it is no good custom.—Therefore, my Lord, I do submit to you, that the advocates of the general power of the House of Commons to commit, have, by their own case adduced, proved too much, and established a case against themselves: *for they have expressly shewn a time when such custom of committal was neither asserted, allowed, nor used.* And, my Lord, the express reason why such a custom could not, or ever *can* be good, is, that if the House be aggrieved, immediate redress is always ready *(Per Legem Terræ,) by the Common Law of the Land.*

The House of Commons, by pleading by it's Speaker to the action commenced at Common Law, hath acknowledged the authority of the *King's Courts of Justice*, and hath recognized the *supreme right* of the *Common Law of the Land.* It will rest with your Lordship to declare what the strict letter of that *Common Law* is; and in the solemnity of that declaration we firmly hope and trust, that your Lordship, bearing in mind the emphatic words of the *Great Charter*, "*Nulli vendemus, Nulli negabimus, aut differemus justiciam, vel rectum*," will personally verify the rule of law, "*Discretio est discernere per Legem, quid sit justum.*" For, as Sir E. Coke observeth thereon, "It is called *right*, because it is the best birth-right the subject hath, for thereby his goods, lands, wife, children, his body, life, honour, and estimation, are protected from injury and wrong:—*Major hæreditas venit unicuique nostrum a jure, & legibus, quam a Parentibus.*"—(2d Inst. 56.)

My Lord, I trust that the House of Commons will, by their Speaker, instruct Counsel to acknowledge the error of its proceeding in respect of the late committal, as being *contra Legem Terræ*,—against the *Common Law of the Land*: if not, I can only add, in the words of Bracton, "Si ipsimet fuerint cum Rege sine Fræno, tunc *clamabunt Subditi* & dicent, Domine Jesu Christe! in chamo & fræno maxillas eorum constringe: ad quos Dominus, vocabo super eos gentem, robustam & longinquam & iguotam, cujus linguam ignorabunt, quæ destruet eos, & evellet radices eorum de terra, & a talibus judicabuntur, *quia subditos nolucrunt juste judicare.*—(L. 2. c. 16. S. 3.")—That if we have Rulers "of unbriddled passions, *who will not rule according to law*, then there is no further remedy left us, but crying to the Lord to restrain them with bitt and bridle: and the Lord will return this answer, Lo, I will bring a nation upon them from far, a mighty nation, whose language they know not, which shall pull them up by the roots, and they shall be judged by such, because they would not rule and judge their own people in righteousness."—Thus far Bracton, with whose emphatic words I shall conclude my observations on this momentous subject—and have the honor to be, my Lord, with all due respect, your Lordship's obedient Servant,

THISMIAMES.

COURT AND FASHIONABLES.

KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

On Monday his Majesty's Birth-day was celebrated after the usual manner. The morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells, &c. &c. At one o'clock, a double salute of artillery was fired off in Hyde Park, instead of Saint James's, in order that the Duke of Cumberland might not be disturbed at Carleton-House, to which place he has been removed.—The Royal Dukes breakfasted with their Majesties at the Queen's Palace, and paid their respects to the King on the return of the day.—At noon the Queen and Princesses went to St. James's Palace to dress; after which they proceeded to the Grand Council Chamber, where her Majesty took her station under the Throne, surrounded by the Princesses, Dukes of Kent, Sussex, &c. &c.—The Archbishop of Canterbury then pronounced an Oration of Congratulation, which concluded with a wish that his Majesty might live long to dispense blessings and virtues among his people. His Grace appeared much affected, and her Majesty and the Princess Elizabeth shed tears.—The following Birth-day Ode was then performed. The music was adapted from Handel by Sir W. Parsons. The Overture was from the Opera of *Pharamond.* Two Solos, allotted to Mr. Neild and Bartleman, were sung in their usual excellent style. All the vocal music was from the Opera of *Atalanta.* The band was ably led by Mr. Dance. Mr. Knyvett presided at the piano forte.

ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

BY H. J. PYE, ESQ. P. L.

When loud the wintry tempest roars,
When dark the exhalations rise,
When dash the billows 'gainst the shores,
And sable clouds obscure the skies;
Cheerful amid the dreary scene
Hope looks abroad with high serene,
To happier hours when Spring again
Shall shew her renovated reign,
And leaning on the rosy Hours,
Shall strew the teeming earth with flowers;
With young delight each bosom cheer,
And wake to joy again the variegated year.

Or if it chance the influence bland
Be check'd by adverse skies awhile,
By Eurus' ruder gales if fann'd,
Uncertain April cease to smile:
When Maia's genial breezes blow;
With richer dies and warmer glow
When June appears; fleets every cloud away,
And all creation hails the animating ray.

Then from Ambition's iron reign,
The embattled wall, the ensanguin'd plain,

The inmates of this favoured isle
Look fondly with expectant smile,
To that blest hour when Britons sing
The birth auspicious of a parent King;
And as the clouds of winter fly
When June illumes the genial sky,
So may the threat'ning storm that lowers
O'er wide Europa's trembling powers,
Like wintry clouds dispersing fade away
Before the radiant beams that gild this happy day.

When the proud Persian vainly tried
In impotence of rage to chain the tide,
Old Ocean mock'd the impious boast,
And Grecia triumph'd o'er his naval host,
Such Gallia's vaunt, and such the fate
That on such empty vaunt shall wait.
For while she threats in angry mood
From every shore our commerce to exclude,
Britannia's arms beyond the Atlantic main
Explore new regions of her golden reign.
And while each isle that studs the western wave,
Yields to her daring prows and warrior's brave,
Her barks commercial crowd the azure deep,
Her fleets each hostile sail from Ocean's bosom sweep.

There were present, besides her MAJESTY, the Princesses AUGUSTA, ELIZABETH, and SOPHIA, the Princess of WALES, the Duchess of YORK, the Princess SOPHIA of GLOUCESTER; the Prince of WALES, the Dukes of YORK, CLARENCE, KENT, CAMBRIDGE, and GLOUCESTER; the Archbishops of CANTERBURY and YORK, the Cabinet Ministers, and a numerous assemblage of nobility and persons of distinction of both sexes, a recapitulation of whose titles would be nearly tantamount to reading the "Red Book."

His MAJESTY, who has completed his 72d year, was not present. The papers remark, "it is much to be feared St. James's Palace, or any other public place, will never be honoured with his presence any more, owing to the afflicting state of his eyes. We are extremely happy to say, his Majesty enjoys most excellent health, and looks very well."

Mr. PERCEVAL, the Marquis WELLESLEY, Mr. RYDER, the Duke of MONTROSE, and others, gave grand dinners to the Foreign Ministers, Lords in Waiting, Grooms of the Bedchamber, Gold Sticks, &c. &c. The King's Tradesmen also dined together, and in the evening lighted up their houses.—The LADIES DRESSES were after the usual manner, very stiff, very inconvenient, very costly, and very ugly.—Her Majesty was covered with djamonds of an immense value. The day was fine, the idlers numerous, and the pickpockets in full employment.

CITY.

MEETING OF THE COMMON COUNCIL.

The Members of the Common Council held a Meeting in their Council Room on Wednesday last, to consider "the extraordinary and alarming power assumed by the House of Commons of imprisoning the people of England for offences cognizable in the Courts of Law, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed necessary for obtaining a REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES, AND REFORMING THE CORRUPT AND INADEQUATE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT"—The LORD MAYOR having taken the chair, and opened the business, Mr. QUIN followed, and after some prefatory matter, proposed the following Resolution:—

"Resolved,

"That an humble Petition be presented from the Court to the Honourable the House of Commons, representing that, in approaching that Honourable House, to lay before them the numerous grievances under which we labour, we acknowledge their undoubted right to exercise all fair, just, and constitutional privileges, originally intended, and wisely continued, for maintaining the dignity, independence, and security, of their deliberations and proceedings.

"That while we feel it our duty to support and uphold that Honourable House, at all times and under all circumstances, in the possession of these privileges, we cannot but lament that the late exercise of their power, in the arrest and imprisonment of two of our fellow-subjects, should have produced consequences most afflicting and deplorable in their nature.

"That without entering into the merits of a question which is shortly to undergo legal decision, we cannot forbear expressing our concern and sorrow, that at a time when the whole nation was anxiously looking to an Inquiry of the most important kind, the people should have been debarred from the said Inquiry by the enforcement of one of their Standing Orders, a measure calculated to distract the public attention from the gross misconduct of his Majesty's Ministers, and tending to screen from condign punishment the criminal authors of unexampled disgraces and calamities.

"That we have seen, with astonishment and indignation, the person who enforced the Standing Order rewarded with a lucrative Sinecure, and notwithstanding the decided and degrading rejection of the tender made by him once more to represent his Constituents in Parliament, afterwards raised to one of the highest Offices under the Crown.

"That, under these extraordinary and almost incredible circumstances of trust improvidently bestowed and of emolument and honour lavishly conferred, alike insulting to the nation at large and destructive of all mutual confidence, we have beheld, with regret and astonishment, the silence and seeming indifference, both of the Hereditary Counsellors of the Crown and of the Representatives of the People.

"That we earnestly entreat the attention of that Honourable House to the great and imminent dangers in which we conceive the country is involved, to the manifold injuries and abuses we consider it to be sustaining from those who preside over its Councils, and to the means we humbly presume to think are best adapted to produce a better and happier state of things.

"That during a warfare of unparalleled misery, expenditure, and destruction, we have submitted to unprecedented burthens and privations.

"That these burthens have been greatly aggravated by unequal taxation, capricious assessments, vexatous surcharges, and arbitrary inquisitions into our private concerns.

"That during the severe pressure of an enormously increased and increasing weight of taxation, abuses, frauds, corruptions, and peculations, no less enormous, have been found to exist.

"That these burthens have been further increased by a profusion of useless places and pensions.

"That by such shameful frauds, waste, and profligacy, our burthens have been augmented, our sufferings aggravated, and our feelings outraged.

"That although there has appeared no deficiency of means to levy and enforce the payment of taxes, we have to complain that no adequate means have yet been devised to prevent the misapplication of them, nor any law or tribunal found sufficient to correct abuse, or bring great public delinquents to justice.

"That these enormous abuses are not only felt as intolerable grievances, materially impairing the property of the people, but by means of the most monstrous and pernicious influence they create, are subversive of the vital principles of the Constitution.

"That their natural operation is to render the Legislative subservient to the Executive Power—a juncture in which it has been predicted by the ablest politicians that the constitution would inevitably perish.

"That duly impressed by the magnitude of our external dangers, we are, nevertheless, of opinion, that these internal abuses, corruptions, and violations of law, as they are the more insidious, are also the more fearful and alarming.

"That we concur in a Declaration recorded upon the Journals of the House of Lords, in a Protest signed by the late Duke of Portland and 31 more Peers, "That from the history of this as well as other countries, times of necessity have always been times of Reform."

"That we cannot but express our concurrence with another part of the said Protest—"Because, however the waste of public money and the profusion of useless salaries may have been hitherto overlooked, in days of wealth and prosperity, the necessities of the present times can no longer endure the same system of corruption and prodigality."

"That without recurring to those facts and circumstances universally known and admitted, by which it appears that a majority of Members are returned through the influence of Government, of Peers, and other individuals speculating in the Rights and Liberties of their fellow-subjects, the evils already stated afford sufficient evidence of the pernicious influence existing, and the want of real and efficient Representation.

"That it is equally notorious, that a very considerable number of the Members of that Hon. House hold lucrative places, appointments, and sinecures under the Crown; almost invariably supporting the existing Administration, or evading inquiry for the correction and reform of abuses.

"That the influence, which such appointments must create, is not confined to those who possess, but extends to others desirous of obtaining them, and who, we are well assured, seek seats in that Hon. House, at considerable expence, for that purpose only.

"That however notorious these facts have been, never before has corruption, in the return of Members and the sale of seats, been publicly avowed in that Honourable House, by Members of the Government and others.

"That it has appeared that Lord Castlereagh, a Member of the House of Commons and a Minister of the Crown, was guilty of a high breach of the Constitution, by trafficing for a seat in Parliament in exchange for a Writership; and that, although he himself admitted the fact, no punishment, nor even censure, was inflicted upon him, but that, on the contrary, he was, in defiance of all decency, and in contempt of public opinion, suffered to retain his official situation.

"That while the said Lord Castlereagh, and the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, another Member of that Honourable House and also a Minister of the Crown, were charged with another high breach of the Constitution,—the first in the disposal of a seat, and the second in conniving thereat,—a motion for enquiry into the same was rejected, upon the declared ground of the frequency of such practices.

"That contrary to every principle of justice, the very ground of aggravation was thereby made an exculpation of the crime. That it is our decided conviction that nothing short of a Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament can correct these inveterate abuses, and repair the breaches in the Constitution.

"That had the People been fairly represented, there would have been no ruinous wars for the preservation of a German Electorate—no subsidies levied upon the labour and industry of the nation, to be squandered in fruitless Continental attachments—no army of foreign mercenaries in the very heart of the land—no wretchedly contrived campaigns for the relief and emancipation of the great and gallant people of Spain, rendered still more painful by the extraordinary valour of British soldiers, and the miserable policy of British Statesmen—no prodigal waste of blood and treasure in the preposterous and ill-fated expedition to Walcheren and the Scheldt—no escape of public peculators and robbers from merited punishment—no men advanced to high places of honour and emolument who had been deemed unworthy of the confidence of their Constituents—no tax upon income, in which the means of acquiring the nature and variation of property are levelled, confounded, and swallowed up.

"We therefore pray this Honourable House to take all these matters into their serious consideration, and to devise such means as by the destruction of corrupt, depopulated, and nominal boroughs, the extension of the elective franchise, the exclusion of pensioners, and the abridged duration of Parliaments, will secure to the people their full share of the rights, liberties, and blessings which the Constitution undeniably meant they should enjoy."

Mr. PEARSON seconded the motion, which was also supported by Mr. WHEBLE, who said, that upwards of 40 years ago the House of Commons had ordered him to appear before them for publishing something on the subject of their privileges, which order he did not think proper to attend to: upon this the House addressed his Majesty, requesting him to issue a proclamation for his (Mr. W.'s) apprehension. This proved that they did not then think they possessed the power of committal they now assumed. Mr. Wheble was taken by a printer's devil, which induced Mr. Wedderburn (afterwards Lord Rosslyn) to remark, that "whether Mr. Wheble had taken the devil, or the devil had taken Mr. Wheble, the House had never till that moment been in such a hobble." The House of Commons, he thought, were now in a similar situation.—Mr. Alderman C. SMITH objected to the Resolution: this was not a proper time for Reform—(*A laugh.*)—Mr. JACKS was of the same opinion: Juries could know nothing, he said, of the privileges of Parliament, which depended on prescriptive rights. There never was a period in which the *integrity* and *independence* of Parliament stood higher than at the present moment; the Reformers cried down all public men; but he thought the Monied Interest would prefer Lords Grenville and Grey, or Mr. Perceval, to Sir F. Burdett.—Mr. SLADE contended, that if a man's house was to be broken into by a military force, there was at once an end to our liberties, and the Constitution is gone. But neither King nor Lords could send a man to prison for an indefinite time, and why, then, should the Commons have such a power?—Mr. BROWN said, he could not countenance the intemperate expressions in the Resolution, particularly where it talked about my Lord Castlereagh and Taxation. (*A laugh*).—Mr. MAWMAN contended, that no man of enlightened understanding, who valued the safety of his country, could put his hand on his heart and say that Sir Francis Burdett ought not to have been committed to the Tower for the Letter he had published. His opinion was, that Reform ought not to be attempted in the present times: he wanted a change of Ministers and a change of system, for the present had degraded the country; and if any Gentleman would move for the dismissal of Ministers, he should have his support. (*A laugh.*)—Mr. LUCAS, anxious for unanimity, here proposed an Amendment, the substance of which was, "That the Court had a firm reliance on the Members of both Houses of Parliament; that they would not be deterred by the cries of a Faction, or the influence of the Crown, from adopting such measures as the exigencies of the times might call for."—Mr. WAITHMAN, after alluding to the opinions of Lord Chatham, Mr. Burke, Lord Erskine, and Sir Samuel Romilly, quoted the words of Lord Burleigh, who said, "England would never be ruined *but by a Parliament*". Mr. Locke and Lord Somers, had they now been living, would have been entirely on the side of those who opposed the arbitary assumption of power by the House of Commons. It rested with the People whether the opinion of Montesquieu should be prophetic or not, when he said, "the Constitution of England will perish, whenever the Deliberative Body shall become more corrupt than the Executive." As for Reform, he would be satisfied with either Mr. Pitt's Plan, Mr. Grey's, Mr. Brand's, or Sir F. Burdett's: all he wanted was, a Reform which would make our system of Representation answer the end of its institution; and this Reform would be still necessary, whether the House continued under the influence of the worst, or was to be directed by the best men in the country, for the vices of the Representation were too numerous and glaring. He certainly hated Ministers, for they hated liberty, which was the cause of their want of success in Spain.—Mr. FAVELL followed on the same side, and quoted from the *abhorrers*, as they were called, who rallied round James the Second immediately previous to the Revolution, some Declarations published by them, which were quite the same as

those lately issued from the Counter-declaration Men. The one professed as much loyalty and desire for peace as the other, while, possibly, in both, the parties were equally sincere; and while they proclaimed a regard for the Constitution, sought only to preserve the corruptions upon which they subsisted. (*Hear, hear!*)—Mr. QUIN, in his reply, alluded to the observations of an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jacks), that if any Prince in this country could desire to overturn the Constitution, his first object would be to degrade—to destroy the House of Commons. But he begged the Hon. Gentleman to reflect, that the Prince who could proceed with such an object, must be a very clumsy manager indeed—for, according to the present system of the Representation, as the House of Commons was constituted, and as it generally conducted itself, it would obviously be the policy of such a Prince to preserve and promote the power of such a House, as the best machine to be employed for the accomplishment of his ends. (*Loud cries of Hear, hear!*)—A division then took place, and the numbers were—For the Original Motion, 87—Against it, 81—Majority for Mr. Quin's Motion and the Petition, 6.—Adjourned.

MIDDLESEX MEETING.

The Freeholders of Middlesex met again on Friday, at the Mermaid at Hackney, in consequence of the rejection of their late Petition by the Honourable House.—The business was opened by Sheriffs WOOD and ATKINS, who requested a calm hearing for all the speakers.—Mr. CLIFFORD, in consequence of the illness of Mr. Hare Townsend, had to propose a fresh Petition to the Honourable House, who seemed to think that though we had a right to believe them corrupt, we had none to tell them they were so.—The Petition was then read, and Mr. CLIFFORD observed, that Mr. Bankes and Mr. Tierney, though they would abolish sinecures, had yet turned their backs upon Reform. There was good reason for this. Mr. Tierney had been rejected in Southwark, and now represented a rotten borough!—Mr. Bankes too held also a rotten borough.—Mr. Canning, who told us that we were too contemptible to be feared, did not at the same time inform us that Mr. Yorke's own brother, the nominee of Lord Elliott, had turned out to let the Teller of the Exchequer get into the House, after his rejection by the independent Freeholders of Cambridge.—Mr. BENTLEY supported the Petition, and exposed the corruptions of Government.—Mr. BLAKE contended that the Law of Parliament was the Law of the Land. (*No, no!*) Lord Coke said so, and he certainly knew as much as they did.—Another GENTLEMAN also supported the privileges of the House.—The Rev. Mr. DRAPER, having heard a good deal of law, wished to hear a little reason. It was quite folly, he said, to suppose that rotten-borough Members had any feeling for the people. Every public body must certainly have the power to maintain order; but was it reasonable, for instance, that a disturbance at a distance from this Meeting should be cognizable by the worthy Sheriffs who presided at it?—Mr. MALLET contended, that the House of Commons claimed the right of imprisoning the people without any process to give them such right. The Constitution gave the people privileges as well as the Honourable House. Nations never made a great progress without great changes; and it was mere delusion to prate about moderate reforms. He did not approve of petitioning the House, to whose conduct he would never bow.—Major CARTWRIGHT was of opinion, that they should petition till the House came to its senses.—The following Resolutions were then put and carried:—

"Resolved—That it appears to this Meeting, that the Petition of this County, of the 26th of April, to the Commons House of Parliament, was rejected by that House, on the 2d of May last, for the following reasons:—

"That certain allegations therein contained were believed not to be true; that it was not thought to be worded in a sufficiently respectful manner; that it was signed by a small number of Freeholders; that it was a protest against the proceedings of the House; and also, that it was supposed to be an attempt to degrade the House.

"Resolved—That this Meeting considers the refusal to receive the Petitions of the people a violation of their inherent rights.

"Resolved—That the facts stated in the rejected petition of the county are true; that the language in which they are expressed is the plain and honest language in which alone they could be described; that such language is justified by the authority of the House itself; that the number of signatures to petitions to Parliament is restrained by law.

"That the people are bound to protest against every violation of their rights and liberties; that this county did not intend to degrade the House of Commons; they knew that no words, in any language, could degrade that Honourable House; but that by its own actions alone it could be degraded in the minds of the people.

"Resolved—That a Complaint, Remonstrance, and Petition be presented to the House of Commons, in conformity to the foregoing Resolutions, and praying that the rejected Petition of this county be now received.

[A Complaint, Remonstrance, and Petition, having been read and agreed to, It was] "resolved, That it be signed by the Sheriff and 20 Freeholders, in the name and behalf of this Meeting; and that the same be presented to the House by George Byng, Esq.

"Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to George Byng, Esq. one of our Representatives, for his general conduct in Parliament.

"Resolved—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Sheriffs, for their readiness in calling this Meeting, and for their judicious and impartial conduct in the Chair."

Mr. GIBBONS declared, that the Petition was disrespectful, insulting, and infamous. (*Loud murmurs.*) He cared not for their reproaches. If the House condescended to receive such Petitions, they deserved to be pulled by the nose and kicked—(*Loud laughter.*)—Mr. WAITHMAN here observed, that the foul libel of the last speaker had proceeded from a pensioner, who was actually feeding on the public distress. (*Mr. Gibbons said, "It is false."*) Mr. WAITHMAN asked, could he say it was false, that his father, Sir Wm. Gibbons, was a pensioner, and was on all occasions devoted to the Minister of the day, no matter whom?—Mr. MELLISH could assure the Meeting that it was with great regret he differed from them in opinion; but he conscientiously did so, and he had never deceived them. (*No: we know you too well.*)—Mr. WAITHMAN said, that Mr. Mellish's conscience was of that sort which prevented his supporting any one popular measure, but induced him to give his aid to every grievance of which the People complained, and to every job by which his friends the Ministers profited. Mr. Mellish knew well, from his own experience, that trading in boroughs was a common practice. What, in fact, had the Hon. Gentleman paid for his seat for Great-Grimsby? (*Hear! Hear!*) The price was as notorious as that of the funds: 5000*l.* for the Parliament, or 1000*l.* a-year for each Session! Money paid forsooth for no other purpose, but to support the rights of the subject!—Mr. BYNG, and Sheriffs ATKINS and WOOD, then returned thanks: the latter said, he had been attacked by low scribblers, and had even been written to by a Noble Duke, as having pursued a line of conduct calculated to overthrow the Constitution, though every step he had taken had been to preserve its blessings.—The thanks of the Freeholders were also voted to several Members of Parliament for their speeches in favour of Reform. It was a quarter past six o'clock before this most numerous and respectable Meeting broke up.

OLD BAILEY.

On Thursday, *Harry Molloy* was tried for stealing 40*l.* in Notes and 32 Guineas, the property of Elizabeth Martin, a woman of the town, in her dwelling house in Bury-street. The prisoner, it appeared, was a constant visitor of the prosecutrix, and, as she affirmed, had stolen the money during her

absence from home: but there being some prevarication on her part, he was acquitted.

John Green was tried on the capital charge of wilfully and maliciously firing a loaded pistol at, and wounding, Jane Woodford, the cook maid of Mr. Manton, of Harrow Hill Common, on the 7th of May last.—The prisoner was gardener in the same family, and in consequence of a dispute he had with the prosecutrix about some washerwomen, he not only beat her in a violent manner, but went up stairs to a closet and brought down a double-barrelled pistol, which he fired at the woman, and wounded her in the feet.—On her cross-examination, she said she did not see the prisoner contract his fingers at the moment the pistol went off. She also said, that he was very angry that the washerwomen were so late, and therefore said they should not come in. Witness, on being wounded, said, "See what you have done;" and he replied, "Aye, I have done it;" and on mentioning the state of her foot, he damned it. On the surgeon coming, he said, "I'm the boy that has done it." Witness had no particular dispute with him before this period; she had no reason to suppose he bore her any malice.

James Chapman had some conversation with the prisoner, and asked him why he shot the cook. He replied, because he could not get her to his terms.—Anthony Darville corroborated the testimony of Jane Woodford, so far as he was concerned. He said the prisoner was pointing the pistol at the cook, (Jane Woodford), and on his lowering the muzzle, it went off, and wounded her. The prisoner said, "There, I have let it off." He could not say whether the pistol would have gone off, if he had not lowered it.—Mr. Manton was next examined. The pistol he said was his, and from the nature of the triggers being stiff, they could not have been pulled so as to discharge the pistol without using some force. —The prisoner, in his defence, said, he did not mean to have wounded the prosecutrix; he liked her too well to wish her harm.

Mr. Justice Gaose summed up the evidence with great humanity, and the Jury returned a verdict of *Guilty.—Death.*

ACCIDENTS, OFFENCES, &c.

On Thursday a Jury assembled at the White Horse public-house, at Hampstead, to take a view of the body of Ann Cockbill, who was found drowned in one of the ponds on the Heath, with strong marks of violence on her person. She had no property upon her but a pawnbroker's duplicate. The Jury recorded a verdict of *Wilful Murder* against some person or persons unknown.

Tuesday, a Coroner's Jury assembled at the sign of the Eagle and Child, West Ham, Essex, to investigate into the death of Mr. John Bolding, landlord of that house, who, on the night of the 20th of May, was assailed in his house by ten labourers with concealed bludgeons, because he protected a gentleman's servant from their fury for some slight offence. They fell upon the unfortunate landlord, who had one of his arms broken in three places, and shockingly bruised; he was instantly conveyed to bed, and died on the 27th. The Jury having gone through a voluminous mass of evidence, returned a verdict of wilful murder against James Sweeney, Richard Pearce, Ed. Buckley, Patrick Fleming, Maurice Brunwick, John Sullivan, Cornelious Hayes (who was admitted an evidence), and three other men, who are not yet in custody.

DEATHS.

On Thursday morning, at two o'clock, at his house, at Brompton, Louis Schiavonetti, Esq.—A full account of this extraordinary Artist will appear in a future number.—The remains of this Gentleman will be interred on Thursday next, in Paddington Church. The funeral will be attended by the Calcographic Society in a body, (of which Society Mr. Schiavonetti was a Member.) Liberty of attendance will be granted to all those Artists and Friends to Art who, like the Society, may feel desirous of paying every possible respect to the Memory of so great an Artist and so amiable a man.

On Tuesday, about twelve o'clock, an elderly man passing through the Five Fields, Chelsea dropped down and expired immediately. He had on a black coat and pantaloons, a silk handkerchief in his pocket. The body was conveyed to the Crown and Anchor public-house.

Mr. Brinkworth, Painter and Glazier, of New-street, one of the Tax-gatherers of St. Bride's: having some business to transact with some of his fellow-parishioners, he agreed to dine at the Crown and Sugar-Loaf, in Fleet-street, on Wednesday, where he had arrived about three o'clock, in perfect health. In about half an hour, however, he was seized with a fit, and before four o'clock was a corpse.

On the 31st ult. at his house, at Knightsbridge, Mr. James Richards, aged 72.

On Monday, at his house in Pall-mall, aged 62 years, the Right Hon. Wm. Windham, of Felbrig, Norfolk, M.P. for the rotten Borough of Higham Ferrars,—the coadjutor of that "ever-to-be-lamented" statesman Mr. Pitt in all his disastrous measures, and a fast friend to the present corrupt system of government;—a man, in short, who has at once merited and obtained the praises of the patriotic *Post* and the disinterested *Chronicle*, and whose death has called forth the tears of the virtuous House of Commons!—The origin of the complaint which ended in Mr. Windham's death is said to have been a contusion in the thigh, received in rescuing the most valuable part of the library of his friend, Mr. Frederick North, from the fire which consumed that Gentleman's house in Conduit-street, about twelve months since.—Mr. Windham consulted the most eminent Surgeons, among whom were Messrs. Cline, Home, Wilson, Lynn, &c. The result was a determination to submit to the knife. It is said that the resolution was formed upon a majority of only one vote in favour of the operation, for which Mr. Lynn was selected. Mr. Windham's fortitude was such, that he engaged the operator to perform his duty, without the usual precaution of tying down the patient; and even when it became necessary to cut deeper than was at first expected (the tumour not being insulated as was supposed, but having a cancerous root on the bone, which it was absolutely necessary to scrape), he said repeatedly, "cut more, I can bear it;" but when they reached the bone, he said, "*Now*, indeed, you may feel *for me.*" It was discovered very soon after the operation, that the event was likely to be fatal.—Mr. Windham (as the *Morning Post* assures us) "had a presentiment that he should die on the King's birth-day, and that he *often* said so. It is probable, (continues the *Post*), that a mind like that of Mr. Windham, so firm in attachment to his Sovereign, may have fixed itself, with a degree of satisfaction, on that day, to which his calculation of his own strength, and the daily exhaustion of his powers, may also have directed him. Besides, as the King had not a more loyal subject than Mr. Windham, so his Majesty, deeply sensible of that attachment, and having the highest value for Mr. Windham as a man, continued to shew, from the first moment of danger, an interest which could not fail to excite the most lively emotions in return. We are disposed to account *in this manner*, rather than by the introduction of any *miracle*, for a thing which, however extraordinary, is, we are assured, an absolute fact. The whole of the Royal Family, as well as his Majesty, were earnest and constant in their inquiries after Mr. Windham; and the multitudes of persons of the middling classes, as well as of the highest rank, that crowded his door to see the medical reports, and still more the feelings they evinced on finding them unfavourable, prove that Mr. Windham, though his dignified virtuous mind disdained to court the popularity of the mischievous or the vulgar, possessed the most valuable of all kinds of popularity—the approbation of all good and reflecting minds. Never did man display more noble fortitude in his last moments—his great mind was unimpaired to the moment of the departure of his spirit, and he died without a struggle or a groan.—Peace to his virtuous manes!"

Printed and published by JOHN HUNT, at the EXAMINER Office, 15, Beaufort Buildings, Strand.—Price 8½d